

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 IO-10 EB-07 OMB-01 EA-06 /095 W

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R 110153Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DACCA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6043

INFO AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DACCA 1241

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PGOV, BG

SUBJECT: EK NETA, EK DESH: MUJIB GOES TO THE PEOPLE

SUMMARY. "EK NETA, EK DESH: BANGABHANDU, BANGLADESH"--  
ONE LEADER, ONE NATION: BANGABHANDU, BANGLADESH--IS THE  
NEW MESSAGE OF THE ONE-PARTY STATE THAT PRESIDENT  
MUJIBUR RAHMAN IS TAKING TO THE PEOPLE IN A SERIES OF  
TRIPS, MOST NOTABLY TO TANGAIL MARCH 8 WHERE HE  
RECEIVED THE BLESSINGS OF MAULANA BHASHANI FOR HIS  
"SECOND REVOLUTION." PREOCCUPIED WITH THIS IMAGE  
BUILDING, MUJIB IS MOVING SLOWLY TO ORGANIZE BAKSAL,  
THE NEW PARTY. THE 320 MEMBERS TO DATE ARE PRINCIPALLY  
OLD AWAMI LEAGUE LEADERS AND INCLUDE NO ALLIED OR  
OPPOSITION POLITICAL FIGURES. THE INDEPENDENCE DAY  
CELEBRATION MARCH 26 IS A LIKELY TIME FOR THE ANNOUNCEMENT  
OF BAKSAL'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POSSIBLY TO BE FOLLOWED  
BY A RESHUFFLE OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. MUJIB'S  
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SECOND REVOLUTION REMAINS A POLITICAL ONE; HE HAS YET

TO TURN HIS ATTENTION SERIOUSLY TO THE ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF BANGLADESH. END SUMMARY.

1. "EK NETA, EK DESH: BANGABHANDU, BANGLADESH"--ONE LEADER ONE NATION: BANGABHANDHU, BANGLADESH--IS THE NEW SLOGAN OF THE ONE-PARTY STATE, BEING CARRIED TO THE PEOPLE PRINCIPALLY BY THE NETA, BANGABHANDHU SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN HIMSELF. IN A DECIDED DEPARTURE FROM HIS CONDUCT OF THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, MUJIB IS GOING TO THE PEOPLE IN A SERIES OF ELABORATELY PRODUCED PROGRESSES, COMPLETE WITH TRIUMPHAL ARCHES ALONG HIS ROUTE. IN EARLY FEBRUARY, MUJIB SPENT THREE DAYS IN COX'S BAZAAR AND RANGAMATI. MARCH 3 HE OPENED A WATER CONTROL PROJECT IN HIS NATIVE DISTRICT OF FARIDPUR. AT TANGAIL MARCH 8, AMID MUCH FANFARE, THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED THE BLESSINGS OF MAULANA BHASHANI FOR HIS SECOND REVOLUTION AND FORMALLY INAUGURATED AS A GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION A COLLEGE FOUNDED BY THE MAULANA 20 YEARS AGO. MUJIB'S NEXT ANNOUNCED PUBLIC APPEARANCE WILL BE THE INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION MARCH 26 AT THE SHURAWARDY UDDYAN (THE FORMER RACE COURSE), THE FIRST TIME THE RULING PARTY HAS HELD A RALLY IN THAT HUGE FIELD IN NEARLY THREE YEARS.

2. AT EWKH OF HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCES, MUJIB'S MESSAGE HAS BEEN THE SAME, THE ENUNCIATION OF THE FOUR PRINCIPLES OF HIS SECOND REVOLUTION: THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF CORRUPT, ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS; INCREASED PRODUCTION IN FARM AND FACTORY; POPULATION CONTROL; AND NATIONAL UNITY. THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MINISTERS, WHO ARE ALSO TOURING THE COUNTRY, STRESS HARD WORK, DISCIPLINE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SELF-SUFFICIENT RURAL-BASED ECONOMY. NEWS STORIES AND EDITORIALS IN THE INCREASINGLY CENSORED PRESS AND THE REPETITIVE EXPRESSIONS OF JOYFUL AGREEMENT FROM MANY CAPTIVE SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS REINFORCE THE MESSAGE THAT THE FUTURE WELL-BEING OF BANGLADESH DEPENDS WHOLLY ON UNQUESTIONING LOYALTY AND SUPPORT FOR MUJIB.

3. THAT MUJIB AND HIS NEW BANGLADESH KRISHAK-SRAMIK  
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AWAMI LEAGUE (BAKSAL) ARE BANKING ALL ON MUJIB'S IMAGE AS A GREAT LEADER IS EVIDENT IN THIS APOTHEOSIS OF MUJIB, THIS EFFORT TO RECAPTURE THE EUPHORIA OF EARLY 1972 WHEN MUJIB'S REPUTATION WAS UNBLEMISHED BY ANY RECORD AS A RULER, EXHORTATIONS EQUALLED ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AND PUBLIC CRITICISM OF HIM WAS NEARLY UNTHINKABLE. THE RULING PARTY APPARATUS HAS BEEN MOBILIZED AS NEVER BEFORE IN THE PAST THREE YEARS TO TURN OUT THE

PEOPLE, THE WORKERS, THE STUDENTS, THE RANK AND FILE TO PAY "SPONTANEOUS" HOMAGE TO MUJIB AS HIS MOTORCADE PASSES BY. THE ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN EXCELLENT. THE 60-MILE TRIP TO TANGAIL, FOR INSTANCE, TOOK SIX HOURS AND INCLUDED 147 CEREMONIAL ARCHES AND SEVEN "IMPROMPTU" STOPS EN ROUTE, INCLUDING SIZEABLE RECEPTIONS BY WORKERS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF SHEIKH FAZLUL HUQ MONI AT TEJGAON AND TONGI. THE SUCCESS OF THE CROWD TURNOUT MAY HAVE REASSURED BAKSAL THAT IT COULD RESPECTABLY FILL THE RACE COURSE ON MARCH 26, AND THUS LED TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF MUJIB'S APPEARANCE THERE.

4. WITH FIRST PRIORITY GIVEN TO SELLING THE REVOLUTION TO THE PUBLIC, MUJIB IS ACTING SLOWLY TO ORGANIZE BAKSAL. THERE ARE AT PRESENT ABOUT 320 MEMBERS OF THE PARTY: MUJIB AND THE VICE PRESIDENT; FORMER AWAMI LEAGUE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT PLUS THREE INDEPENDENT MP'S UPON WHOM MUJIB CONFERRED BAKSAL MEMBERSHIP; THREE CABINET MINISTERS WHO ARE NOT MP'S; TEN NON-MP MEMBERS OF THE ERSTWHILE AWAMI LEAGUE'S CENTRAL WORKING COMMITTEE; AND THE THREE CANDIDATES FOR THE KUSHTIA BY-ELECTION WHOSE PETITIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP MUJIB ALSO APPROVED. EXCEPT FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ALL FORMER AWAMI LEAGUE COMMITTEES ARE FUNCTIONING ON AN INTERIM BASIS, BUT TECHNICALLY THEY HAVE NO MEMBERS.

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. THE EXPECTATION OF NAP/MUZAFFAR AND THE CPB, FORMER CO-PATRIOTIC PARTIES, THAT THEY WOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN BAKSAL HAS YET TO MATERIALIZE. IN FACT, NOT ONE OF THEIR LEADERS HAS BEEN GRANTED MEMBERSHIP SO FAR. ALTHOUGH PROFESSOR MUZAFFAR AHMED RECENTLY TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT HE DOUBTED HE WOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN BAKSAL BECAUSE HE WAS NOT A "POLITICAL PERSON OF THAT KIND", THE EMBOFF GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT MUZAFFAR HAD NOT YET BEEN ASKED BY MUJIB TO JOIN THE PARTY AND WAS ATTEMPTING TO COVER UP HIS CHAGRIN. THE FACT THAT PLANNING FOR MARCH 26 IS GOING FORWARD AS A JOINT EFFORT OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "DEFUNCT" AWAMI LEAGUE, NAP/M, AND CPB MAY INDICATE THAT THE FATE OF THESE FORMER ALLIES WILL NOT BE ANNOUNCED UNTIL INDEPENDENCE DAY NEARS. WHILE MUJIB MAY EVENTUALLY GIVE NAP/M AND THE CPB SOME POSITIONS IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF BAKSAL, WE WOULD GUESS THAT HE WILL KEEP THE LEADERSHIP IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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HANDS OF TRUSTED FORMER AWAMI LEAGUERS. SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM OF HIS ONE-PARTY STATE FROM WESTERN OBSERVERS, MUJIB WILL NOT WANT HIS NEW PARTY TO APPEAR OVERLY LEFTIST OR SOCIALIST, AS IT WOULD IF THE PRO-MOSCOW NAP/M OR THE CPB WERE GIVEN SIGNIFICANT POSITIONS.

6. MARCH 26 MAY WELL BE THE APPROPRIATE DATE FOR THE NEXT MAJOR ANNOUNCEMENT ANTICIPATED: THE COMPOSITION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF BAKSAL. ACCORDING TO AN ITTEFAQ REPORT, MAULANA BHASHANI HAS AGREED TO BE A MEMBER OF AN ELEVEN-MAN POLICY PLANNING GROUP WITHIN THE COMMITTEE. SPECULATION IS STRONG THAT EX-FINANCE MINISTER TAJUDDIN AHMED WILL BECOME EITHER THE VICE CHAIRMAN OR GENERAL SECRETARY OF BAKSAL. TAJUDDIN, HOWEVER, TOLD AN EMBOFF MARCH 6 THAT HE COULD NOT ENVISAGE ANY PARTY ROLE WHICH HE MIGHT EFFECTIVELY PLAY AT THIS TIME. ALL HE PRESENTLY PLANS TO DO, HE SAID, IS AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS; HE WILL SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT, WHOM HE WISHES WELL, BUT AS AN OLD FRIEND RATHER THAN AS AN ACTIVE POLITICAL ASSOCIATE. FRANK IN EXPRESSING HIS UNEASINESS OVER THE PRESENT

SITUATION, TAJUDDIN SEEMED TO MAKE A POINT OF STRESSING THAT ALL HIS TRAINING HAD PREPARED HIM FOR DEMOCRACY AND THUS THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WAS DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO ACCEPT.

7. TAJUDDIN COULD JUST BE PLAYING COY, WAITING TO BE REALLY ASKED. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE FACT THAT THERE APPEARS LITTLE HE WOULD GAIN NOW POLITICALLY FROM BECOMING ACTIVE IN A PARTY TIGHTLY CONTROLLED BY MUJIB, WE ARE INCLINED TO ACCEPT TAJUDDIN'S STATED VIEW THAT FOR THE TIME BEING HE WILL REMAIN SIMPLY A PARTY MEMBER AWAITING--AS ARE ALL BENGALEES--FOR SIGNS OF THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF MUJIB'S SECOND REVOLUTION. THE RELUCTANCE OF TAJUDDIN TO CONTRIBUTE ACTIVELY TO MUJIB'S DESIRE FOR A DISPLAY OF NATIONAL UNITY AND THE SEEMING LACK OF SUCCESS SO FAR OF EFFORTS TO RECRUIT PROMINENT OPPOSITION LEADERS, EXCEPT FOR BHASHANI, AS SUPPORTERS OF THE NEW SYSTEM MAY MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR MUJIB TO PRESENT TO THE PUBLIC A CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHICH  
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WOULD BE SYMBOLIC OF A NEW DIRECTION FOR THE NATION.

8. AFTER FORMING THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MUJIB IS EXPECTED TO RESHUFFLE THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, NOW WIDELY CRITICIZED AS "OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES." (IN ONE VERSION "VINEGAR" IS SUBSTITUTED FOR "WINE"). WITH THE CONTINUED ABSENCE OF KAMAL HOSSAIN APPARENTLY TURNING INTO A PERMANENT ONE, FINANCE MINISTER A.R. MALLICK IS BELIEVED TO BE A LEADING PETITIONER FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. ACCORDING TO SOME REPORTS, HOWEVER, KHONDOKAR MUSHTAQUE AHMED, COMMERCE MINISTER, HAS NOT GIVEN UP HIS HOPE OF OCCUPYING THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS POST THAT HE HELD IN MUJIBNAGAR, AND A RIVALRY WITH MALLICK HAS THUS ENSUED. PERHAPS THE CLEARER INDICATOR OF MUJIB'S INTENTIONS REGARDING THE ECONOMY WOULD BE THE NEW FINANCE MINISTER SHOULD MALLICK LEAVE THE JOB. THE ONLY RUMORED CANDIDATE SO FAR MENTIONED, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN INDUSTRIES MINISTER KAMARRUZZAMAN WHO POSSESSES NO PARTICULAR SKILLS FOR THE POSITION.

9. MUJIB'S SECOND REVOLUTION REMAINS A POLITICAL ONE. HIS PLANS FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BANGLADESH UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM HAVE NOT GONE BEYOND EXHORTATIONS TO THE CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE PEOPLE. ADMINISTRATIVELY, THERE HAS BEEN ONE CHANGE OF POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANCE: THE APPOINTMENT AS DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

OF ABDUR RAHMAN, A POLITICIAN AND FORMER MEMBER OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHO RECENTLY OBTAINED A DIPLOMA IN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS IN BULGARIA. THIS APPOINTMENT IS SEEN AS HERALDING THE POLITICIZATION OF THE BUREAUCRACY. IN OTHER RESPECTS, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO OPERATE AS BEFORE, WITH PERHAPS MORE ENERGY BUT NO GREATER SENSE OF PURPOSE AS CIVIL SERVANTS AWAIT THE NEW DIRECTIVES FROM MUJIB. CHESLAW

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